Volume 24, No. 1 Spring Number, 1935

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

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Communications on general ASSOCIATION matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 24, No. 1 Spring Number, 1935

Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association

SUMMER MEETING FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

For its summer meeting, held May 18, 1935, the Friends' Historical Association devoted an altogether charming afternoon to early Quaker botanists. The meeting proper was held on the lawn back of the old Humphrey Marshall house, at Marshallton, four miles west of West Chester, Pennsylvania; the customary supper was held across the road, on the grounds of the Bradford Friends' Meeting House.

The interest of the papers can only in small degree be estimated from the program which is given below. Individually they contained both biographical and local interest; as a series they were impressive as showing the very real contributions made by early Friends to the scientific study of the young colony's flora and fauna. It was, moreover, particularly appropriate that the meeting should be held at the Marshall Arboretum, which was laid out by Humphrey Marshall about 150 years ago on a very considerable plot between his house and the public road, and which contains many beautiful and interesting trees. The afternoon meeting was rendered additionally delightful by the hospitality of Mr. and Mrs. J. Elliott Newlin, the present owners and occupants of the Humphrey Marshall house, who threw their quaint home open from cellar to attic, from living room to kitchen closet, to the inspection of visitors. The ancient handmade hardware on doors and windows, the immense fireplaces, the brick ovens and other fixtures for colonial cooking in the shed at the end of the house were viewed and admired.

After the meeting, the members of the Association strolled through the Arboretum, studying the markers on the trees and

enjoying the stately strangeness of some, the familiar beauty of others[1]; and gradually drifted across the road to the old Bradford Friends' Meeting House, which was also open for inspection.

The program of the meeting was as follows:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS
Charles Francis Jenkins, President, Friends' Historical Association.

WELCOME TO MARSHALLTON
J. Elliott Newlin, owner and occupant of the Marshall House.

WELCOME TO CHESTER COUNTY
George B. Johnson, member of The Chester County Historical Society, and Chairman of the Local Committee.

HUMPHREY MARSHALL, BOTANIST AND EXPLORER
Francis W. Pennell, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

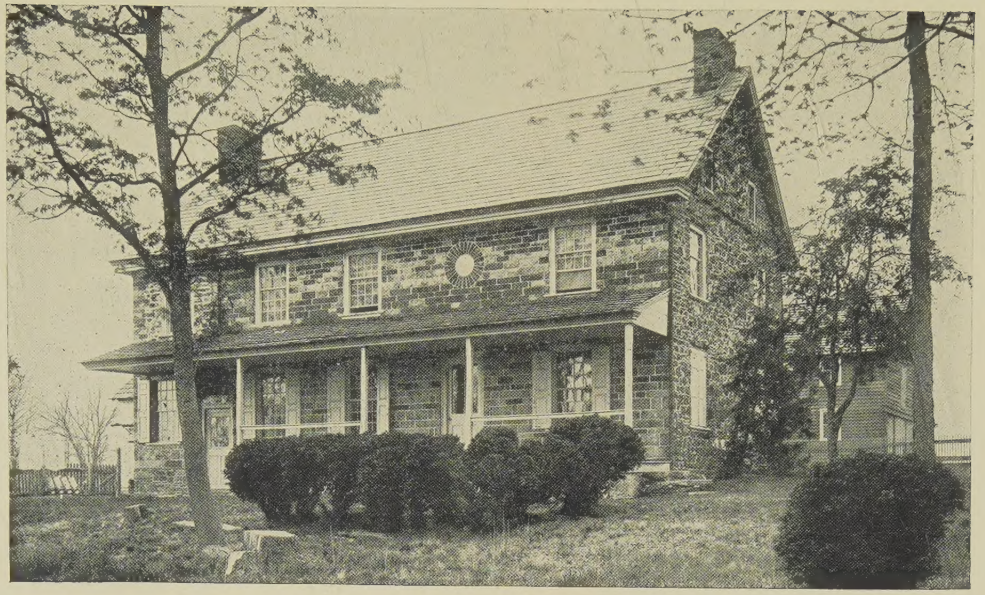
DR. WILLIAM DARLINGTON, PHYSICIAN, BOTANIST, AND PUBLIC-SPIRITED CHESTER COUNTIAN
Dr. William T. Sharpless.

JOHN AND WILLIAM BARTRAM
Francis Harper, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia.

---

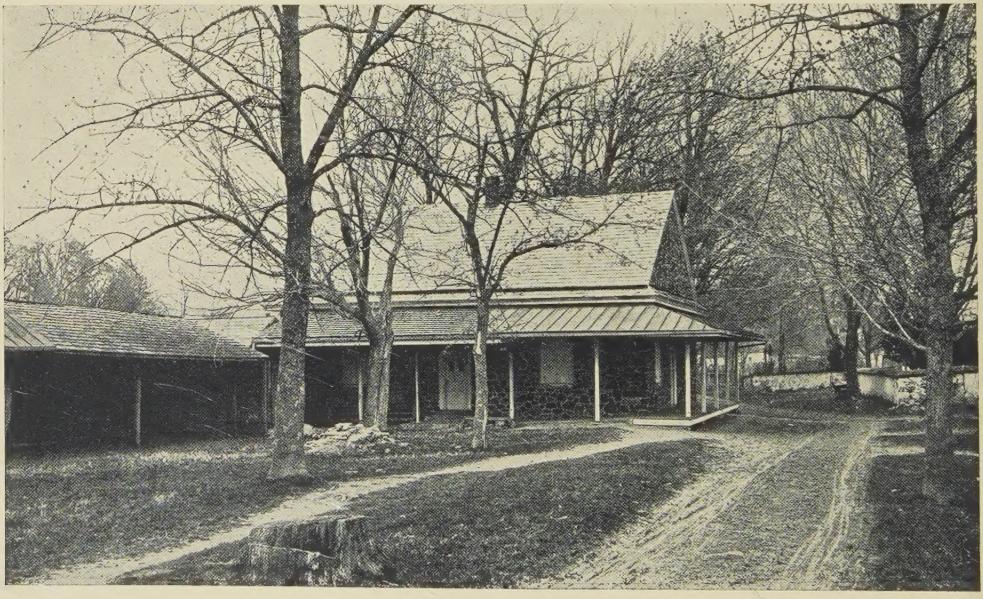
[1] Mr. Malcolm Berry, of the Berry Nursery, Moylan, Pennsylvania, very kindly copied Mr. Newlin's list of the trees represented in the Arboretum, as follows:

Kentucky coffee tree, *Gymnocladus dioica*
sweet buckeye, *Aesculus octandra*
common horse-chestnut, *A. hippocastanum*
common box, *Buxus sempervirens*
edging box, *B. s. suffruticosa*
English yew, *Taxus bacata*
Chinese tree of heaven, *Ailanthus grandulosa*
white mulberry, *Morus alba*
sugar maple, *Acer saccarum*
sycamore maple, *A. pseudoplatanus*
European larch, *Larix europaea*
cucumber tree, *Magnolia acuminata*
Fraser magnolia, *M. fraseri*
slippery elm, *Ulmus fulva*
bird cherry, *Prunus avium*
large-leafed hackberry, *Celtis canina*
common hackberry, *C. occidentalis*
sweet birch, *Betula lenta*
hop hornbeam, *Ostrya virginiana*
Bartram oak, *Quercus heterophylla*
mocker nut, *Carya alba*
pignut, *C. glabra*
Indian pawpaw, *Asimina triloba*
Canadian hemlock, *Tsuga canadensis*
sweetgum, *Liquidambar stryraciflua*
white ash, *Fraxinus americana*
Franklinia, *Franklinia altamaba*



Home of Humphrey Marshall, in Marshallton. Built by him, 1773.
Photograph by Gilbert Cope, 1893.

Bradford Friends' Meeting House, at Marshallton. Built about 1765.
Photograph by Gilbert Cope, 1893.



Bradford Friends' Meeting House, at Marshallton. Built about 1765.
Photograph by Gilbert Cope, 1893.

Of the above papers, that on Humphrey Marshall will probably appear in a later number of the BULLETIN, and that on Dr. William Darlington has been published in *Bartonia* (publication of the Philadelphia Botanical Club), No. 14 (1932).

The last issue of the BULLETIN contained a brief resolution of the Directors on the death of Rayner W. Kelsey, adopted at the annual meeting; but the Association was unwilling to let the occasion pass with so inadequate recognition. The present issue contains therefore a very brief biographical sketch of Rayner Kelsey, a number of personal tributes of his memory, a few short poems from his pen, and the very considerable list of his writings. This bibliography was kindly prepared by Miss Anna B. Hewitt.

We print also a very interesting article by Rayner W. Kelsey on early books of discipline. This article was prepared more than a year before Rayner Kelsey's death; he had promised to make it available to the Editor of the BULLETIN, and the hope of printing it was expressed in vol. 22 (1933) : 5, in connection with a reference to a copy of the discipline of 1704 in the possession of Major David S. B. Chew. The article by Luella M. Wright, on *Cultural Qualities in Early Quakerism,* appears appropriate as coming from one who had received much encouragement from Rayner Kelsey.

The reproductions of the disciplines present an interesting series. The "Paper of Discipline" of 1689 appears to be a unique copy: at least, no reference to it has been found in any of the standard bibliographical lists. The three manuscript disciplines, of 1704, 1719, and 1762, are the Haverford copies, and the printed discipline of 1797 is also from the Haverford College Library. It would be interesting to collate all the known copies of the three manuscript editions of the discipline, and print the text of each edition with such annotations as would show the variations in each manuscript copy. The disciplines of 1704 and 1719 are so brief that they could easily be printed as a supplement to the BULLETIN. The Editor would like to be informed of the whereabouts of copies of these manuscript disciplines other than those at Haverford and at Arch Street.

RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY

RAYNER WICKERSHAM KELSEY, for eleven years Editor of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, died on the evening of Tenth Month 29, 1934, of a heart ailment, at the age of fifty-five. To his editorship of this BULLETIN and his indefatigable efforts and his discriminating taste, the Friends' Historical Association owes much of its success. He became a member of the Association in 1910; served as President 1913-1915; as Vice President 1928-1931; as Editor of the BULLETIN 1922-1932; and as a member of the Board of Directors 1923-1934.

Rayner W. Kelsey had been at Haverford College for twenty-five years as Professor of American History, and had made himself beloved by all who came in contact with him. He was born in Western Springs, Cook County, Illinois, on First Month 29, 1879, the son of Asa and Sarah Atwater Kelsey, and on Second Month 23, 1901, married Naomi Harrison Binford, of Greenfield, Indiana. His wife and an only son, Rayner Wilfred Kelsey, survive him.

The ancestry of Rayner W. Kelsey traces back to William Kelsey, who came to Cambridge, Massachusetts, about 1630, and joined the followers of Thomas Hooker, who led a party of Separatists from the strictly Puritan field to Connecticut, and helped found Hartford about 1636. From Connecticut the descendants of the first William Kelsey migrated to other places, and now there are representatives of the Kelsey family in almost every State of the United States. Early in the nineteenth century another William Kelsey (c. 1807-1861) moved from his home in Otsego County, New York, to Canada, and there married Phebe Hallock of Pelham Monthly Meeting. Their son, Asa, was born near Niagara Falls, Canada, in 1839. Later they moved to Michigan, and William Kelsey became an elder and member of Ypsilanti Monthly Meeting. In 1860 Asa Kelsey married Sarah Atwater, daughter of Mead and Huldah Hoag Atwater, who were both well-known ministers of New York Yearly Meeting. First living in Michigan, Asa and Sarah A. Kelsey moved to Western Springs, Illinois, in 1875, where their youngest son, Rayner Wickersham, was born. He was not related to the

Wickersham family, but was named after a friend and neighbor. Here in Western Springs Sarah Kelsey was active in the public ministry, and her gift was acknowledged by the Society. Her four sons inherited her gift in the ministry, and they also became recorded ministers.

Rayner Kelsey's boyhood was spent at Western Springs, Illinois, which is mentioned as a village (population 662) and resort on the Burlington Route, sixteen miles west by south of Chicago. He attended the public schools there, and in 1900 was graduated from Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1909 from the University of California, with the thesis *The United States Consulate in California.* In the interim he was for four years Professor of German and Public Speaking at Pacific College, Newberg, Oregon, and from 1904 to 1906 held the same post at Whittier College, Whittier, California. In the latter year he changed his field of interest to history, and was a Teaching Fellow at the University of California from 1906 to 1909. When Rufus M. Jones visited the Pacific Coast in 1905, he met Rayner Kelsey, and they later corresponded in connection with articles for *The American Friend.* Dr. Jones felt that he was a very promising young man, and suggested to President Sharpless that he would be a suitable candidate for appointment to the Haverford College faculty. In 1909 President Sharpless met Rayner Kelsey in California, and called him to Haverford in that year, where he remained until his death.

Dr. Kelsey's main literary contribution was to the field of American history, but he was increasingly interested in the more restricted subject of Quaker history. In 1922 he succeeded the late Professor Allen C. Thomas as Editor of the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. In the same year he was appointed Curator of the great collection of Quakeriana at Haverford College, which is the largest and most important source for historical research upon Quakerism in America. He also became Curator of the valuable autograph collection left by Charles Roberts, now housed in Roberts Hall.

Several books of national importance were written by Rayner Kelsey. His great interest in the condition of the American

Indians, and their relations with Friends, induced him in 1917 to write *Friends and the Indians.* Several important biographies were written for the *Dictionary of American Biography,* including those for Thomas Chalkley, Warner Mifflin, Anthony Morris, William Penn, William Savery, Isaac Sharpless, and others, as listed in the bibliography. The *Cazenove Journal* had preceded these, for Haverford College Studies, and more recently *Quakeriana Notes* kept pace with new acquisitions and publications in the special interests of the Quaker Collections. The *Centennial History of Moses Brown School,* in Providence, Rhode Island, was written in 1919, and ten years later *Prohibition, The Tariff,* and *Farm Relief,* followed by *Political Parties* and *Internationalism,* which were published in 1930. Some little known poems are scattered through these years of scholarly work and teaching, not all of them having seen the light of publication.

Dr. Kelsey was President of the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland (1921-1922), and was a Life Member of the American Historical Association and of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He was greatly interested in the proportional representation movement, and served continuously as one of the seven trustees of the Proportional Representation League from 1925 until the time of his death.

Wherever his teaching work took him, Rayner Kelsey gave much time and effort to service of a directly religious nature. He was always actively identified with the work of the meeting to which he belonged. At Haverford his ministry was much appreciated, and his visits to other meetings in the Philadelphia area were noteworthy. One of his chief concerns had to do with the mission work of the Society of Friends among the Indians of Oklahoma. For many years he was one of the moving spirits in the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs, became its Chairman, and was untiring in his efforts to strengthen the work and uphold the hands of the workers in that field.

One of the last public questions to which Rayner Kelsey's unremitting interest was devoted was the cause of Prohibition, to which all his life had been dedicated. He was a member of

the Friends' Temperance Association of the two Philadelphia Yearly Meetings, and was the author of their slogan, "Education against the habit; legislation against the traffic."

Our transatlantic contemporary, *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* (London), Vol. 31, 1934, pays a deserved tribute to Rayner W. Kelsey as a "wise, devoted and highly qualified worker it can ill afford to lose" in the field of Quaker historical research, and adds: "Successive librarians of the Society in London have known him as a ready correspondent and unfailing helper in historical and bibliographical enquiries touching American Quakerism. He attended the All Friends Conference in London in 1920."

At the funeral service held at the Haverford Meeting House on Tenth Month 31, 1934, and at the midweek meeting of students and faculty, beautiful tributes were paid to Rayner Kelsey, who was dearly beloved as teacher, colleague, and friend.

Haverford, Pennsylvania AMELIA MOTT GUMMERE

RAYNER W. KELSEY was brought by President Sharpless to Haverford College in 1909 from the West Coast where he had gone after graduation at Earlham for further work and teaching. He quickly felt at home in Philadelphia Quakerism and became a valued member and a recorded minister in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. From the first he was charged with the courses in American History and later took on additional duties as Curator of the Quaker Collections, in which he took a deep interest. He was a good judge of rarities and was keen on the scent of any document particularly desired to complete sets. In his historical work he was a careful and scrupulous scholar in his treatment of sources, a writer of clear and effective English in the editorial work he did for the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION and, more recently, for *Quakeriana Notes*. Always concerned for the welfare of the students, he was a frequent and most acceptable minister in the College meeting. His outside interests besides those of his profession were concerned with the Indians and with the prohibition of the liquor traffic. His integrity and transparent sincerity always won

the affection of the students who came into close contact with him. He was one of those whose character has been woven into the very fiber of Haverford life.

Haverford College W. W. Comfort
Haverford, Pennsylvania

RAYNER W. KELSEY was a *believer* in the best sense of the word. He believed in his friends, and they returned in heaping measure the confidence which he gave them. He believed in, and loved, his students; and the human qualities which this creed brought out, and the loyalty inspired thereby, made his classes and his associations with Haverford College a happy continuity of experience for all those who had the good fortune to be connected with him. He believed in unswerving principles, and his honest fight against intemperance and certain phases of political chicanery revealed him as one who never trimmed his sails when confronted by the head winds of opposition. Like the fruit trees which he cultivated, and whose fruit he gave away so generously, his humor, his loyalty, and his penetration of the human soul were ripe and sustaining. Words are inadequate; but a unanimous feeling of appreciation will rise in the hearts of the friends who had the privilege of knowing him for all or part of the twenty-five years of his residence in our community.

Harvard University Richard Mott Gummere
Cambridge, Massachusetts

THE SERVICES of Rayner W. Kelsey during his twenty-five years at Haverford College as teacher, minister, author, editor, worker in public causes, are the assets of permanent value to the College and community; but his wise counsel in difficult crises and the intangible influence of his radiant life are his greatest contributions to us.

Two traits of his character remain in our minds: the firmness of his convictions and his warmth of human sympathy. The soundness of his scholarship is a matter of record; but there is no doubt that his absorbing interest lay in the people about him, and his greatest success was in dealing with living issues. An example of this was his lifelong interest in the suppression of the liquor traffic. With splendid moral courage he stood for prohi-

bition, believing it to be the only road to true temperance. His unequaled command of the facts of this problem and his superb ability as a debater, combined with his tact and fairness, placed him in the first rank of those who championed this cause.

Haverford College was almost a passion with him. No one could have given a nobler interpretation of its spirit, or have given himself more fully to its service. His colleagues and his students were his devoted friends, to whom loyalty was a matter of course. His kindly words of encouragement and ready help in time of need have enabled many a student (and many others) to carry on through difficult days.

We all recall a theme to which he gave expression more than once in meeting, the necessity of "putting first things first." His life was an example of his preaching. He had a rare sense of balance, of humor, of values. Keenly sensitive to every form of human injustice and always eager to take the side of the oppressed, his outlook was fundamentally liberal; but he was suspicious of idealism which he did not believe would square with practice. Few had a greater relish for the wholesome good things of life; we know of his interest in outdoor sports and of participation in them when in health; his wonderfully genial companionship, his gift for conversation enriched by a wide experience. Behind all this lies the fact of a life replete with substantial accomplishment.

During the last months the thread of life was so delicate that he was forced to take the utmost care of his waning strength. He did all within reason to prolong his activity, and his health was naturally a major concern to him. Months ago he knew that the end could not be long delayed. Yet so quiet did he keep this that his friends were not aware of the constant peril in which he lived. He was as radiant, as un-self-centered, as normal as ever. There was nothing to change in his life, and he changed nothing; he faced the approaching end with unshaken faith, and said, "I am content."

ALBERT H. WILSON, in
Haverford News, November 5, 1934

Haverford College
Haverford, Pennsylvania

EARLY BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE OF PHILADELPHIA YEARLY MEETING

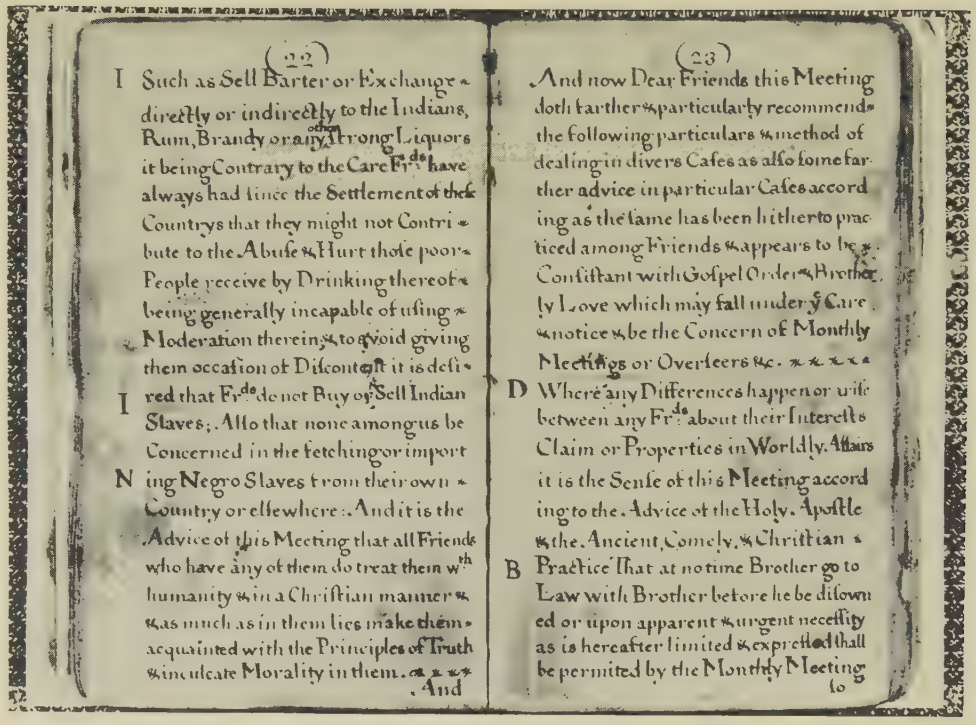
By Rayner W. Kelsey

ON A happy day a few years ago a Haverford graduate presented to the Quaker Collections of the college a beautiful copy of the Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting issued in the year 1719.[1] At once this small volume became one of the treasured possessions of the college and one of its favorite exhibits on public occasions. It is a manuscript booklet, written so evenly and beautifully in a square script that almost everyone at first sight supposes it to be printed.

After some study it was found that the little volume of 1719 was the second Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. It served the Yearly Meeting for more than forty years, until 1762, although some additions to it, extracted from minutes and epistles, were sent down to the quarterly meetings by the yearly meeting of 1747.

Naturally a search was started for other early issues of the discipline. Strangely enough the next one was secured from a dealer in England. It turned out to be the third Book of Discipline, referred to in the *Minutes* of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1762, as follows: "The Clerk acquainted the Meeting that the Alphabetical Collection of the Rules of Discipline, & Advices given forth by this Meeting from the first establishment thereof hath been compared with the Original minutes pursuant to the Direction of the Meeting last year, and a number of Copies for the use of the Quarterly Meetings are also transcribed, and most of them examined, and ready to be delivered; He is therefore desired to deliver a Copy to the Clerks of each Quarterly Meeting when the necessary minutes now agreed upon, are added thereto."

[1] Presented in 1930 by Ralph Mellor, class of 1899. The little volume, of 61 pages, 4 x 6½ inches, has a beautiful modern binding. It has a very complete subject index at the end. It contains also the following inscriptions: "Sarah Bonsall her Book." "J. Paschall." "Hannah Bonsall Wilmington Delaware." In place of a title-page is the following inscription, in beautiful, large, hand-made print: "Thomas Lewis of Haverford in the County of Chester is the owner of this Book."



(22)

I Such as Sell Barter or Exchange directly or indirectly to the Indians, Rum, Brandy or any other strong Liquors it being Contrary to the Care Frds have always had since the Settlement of these Countrys that they might not Contribute to the Abuse & Hurt those poor People receive by Drinking thereof being generally incapable of using Moderation therein, & to avoid giving them occasion of Discontent it is desired that Frds do not Buy or Sell Indian Slaves; Also that none amongus be Concerned in the fetching or importing Negro Slaves from their own Country or elsewhere: And it is the Advice of this Meeting that all Friends who have any of them do treat them with humanity & in a Christian manner & as much as in them lies make them acquainted with the Principles of Truth & inculcate Morality in them. & & & &

And

(23)

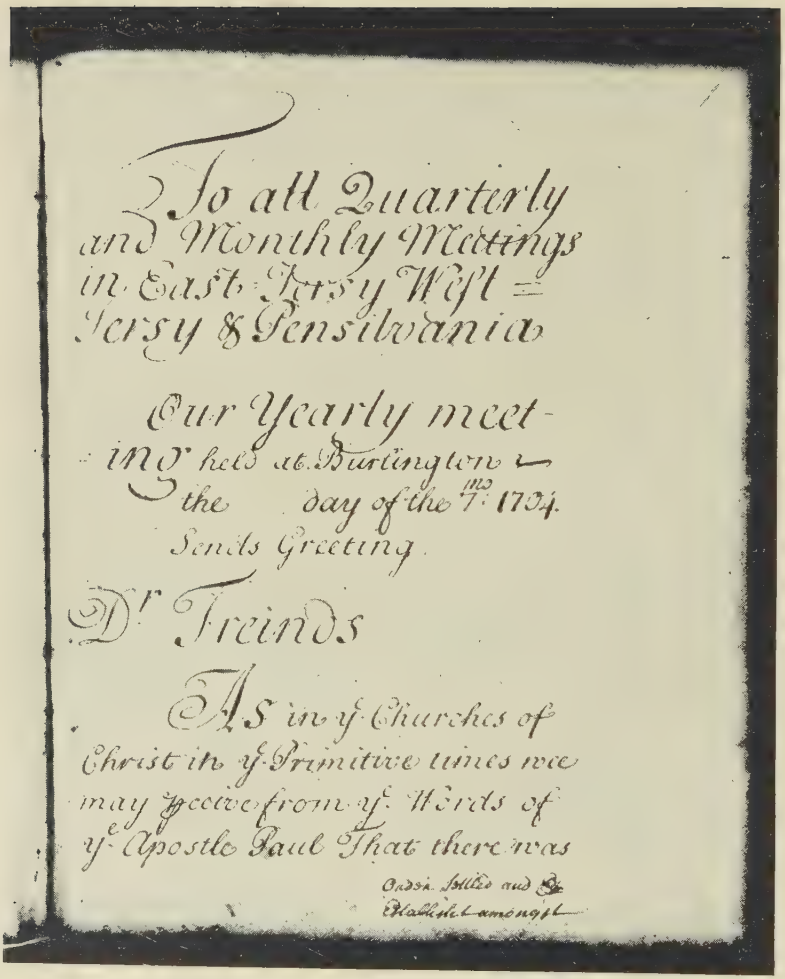
And now Dear Friends this Meeting doth farther & particularly recommend the following particulars & method of dealing in divers Cases as also some farther advice in particular Cases according as the same has been hitherto practiced among Friends & appears to be Consistant with Gospel Order & Brotherly Love which may fall under y^e Care & notice & be the Concern of Monthly Meetings or Overseers &c. & & & & &

D Where any Differences happen or arise between any Frds about their Interests Claim or Properties in Worldly Affairs it is the Sense of this Meeting according to the Advice of the Holy Apostle & the Ancient, Comely, & Christian

B Practice That at no time Brother go to Law with Brother before he be disowned or upon apparent & urgent necessity as is hereafter limited & expressed shall be permited by the Monthly Meeting

to

Two Pages of the Manuscript Discipline of 1719. Original in the Quaker Collections at Haverford College.


To all Quarterly
and Monthly Meetings
in East Jersy West =
Jersy & Pensilvania

Our Yearly meet-
ing held at Burlington =
the day of the 11th 7th 1704.
Sends Greeting.

Dr Freinds

As in y Churches of
Christ in y Primitive times wee
may receive from y Words of
y Apostle Paul That there was

Title-page of Manuscript Discipline of 1704. Original in the Quaker Collections at Haverford College.

This is a large volume, the pages measuring 8 x 12 inches, and bound in old parchment—a solid, venerable tome, brimming with the lore of early Quakerism. As described in the above minutes, the subject matter in it is arranged topically and alphabetically. The table of contents contains forty-seven headings, ranging from Arbitrations, Appeals, and Affirmations, to War, Wills, and Yearly Meeting. Space is left after each topic for adding the testimonies of succeeding Yearly Meetings. It is interesting to note the number of concerns that have been modified or discarded since 1762—such as Gaming, Grave-Stones, Mourning, Sorcery, and Taverns. Friends may be conservative but they can, on occasion, discard the traditions of the elders.

In the search for old books of discipline, naturally the greatest desideratum was the first one issued. A copy of it came to Haverford College by friendly chance. A student of another institution, who had used the Haverford Quaker Collections, wrote to the Curator that he had seen in an old book shop in Providence, Rhode Island, an epistle of 1704 from a Yearly Meeting held at Burlington, New Jersey. The book dealer, on request, sent the so-called epistle for examination. With the epistle, it transpired, was bound up a communication of the yearly meeting to the quarterly meetings, from the same year, in such form as to suggest that it probably was a discipline of earlier date than the discipline of 1719 which the college already possessed. Thrilling possibility!

When the Curator's office had made some study of the old minute books of the yearly meeting, the fact became apparent that this was indeed a copy of the Discipline of 1704, the first real Book of Discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting; and

> Then felt I as some watcher of the skies,
> When a new planet floats within his ken.

So the collection of the three manuscript books of discipline, those of 1704, 1719, and 1762, was completed. Here and there a copy of one or another of them has been located in private hands, and all three are to be found in the yearly meeting archives at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. There is thus a set at Haverford, and one at Arch Street; but no other complete set has been located at home or abroad.

Early Rules and Testimonies

WITH these early disciplines thus profusely and individually introduced, this may be a suitable time to speak in more detail about their contents. In this connection a word of definition may be in order. In recent times in some yearly meetings it has become the custom to issue books of discipline in more than one volume, separating "Faith and Practice" from "Rules of Church Government." This was not the vogue in earlier times. Hence the word "discipline" is used here with its more inclusive meaning.

The concerns and testimonies of Friends that were later gathered into a Book of Discipline originated almost if not quite contemporaneously with the first preaching and epistle-writing of George Fox. Many of the present Quaker testimonies can be traced back to the 1650's.[2] The minutes adopted and epistles sent by early meetings of Friends in England and America confirmed and simplified these first testimonies. In Philadelphia Yearly Meeting there were distinct developments of these early testimonies in all the early yearly meetings, from the first one at Burlington in 1681. So much for the seeds and roots of the tree.

The interest that attaches to first things is well exemplified as one seeks for the first testimony that later became a part of the permanent disciplinary fabric. The first concern of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, as recorded in the *Minutes* of 1681, was that the relations of Friends with one another should be friendly: "Agreed that Each Monthly Meeting do appoint two Persons to find out Such as do Report false reports." And again: "It's agreed if any difference arise between any Persons professing the Truth, that they do not go to Law One with Another before Endeavours have been made & Used for the Ending thereof, by the Particular Mens and Womens Meetings aforementioned." The Query on this subject adopted in 1933 is better phrased, but it is built upon the same fundamental Christian concept. The fact that this testimony comes first reminds us that the Author of our faith said, "First be reconciled unto thy brother."

[2] An interesting table, prepared by Anna J. F. Hallowell, showing Quaker testimonies with their dates of origin, appeared in the *Friends Intelligencer,* 79 (1922): 534.

And a modern apostle of religion has defined Christianity as "a way of living in the world with other people."

The development of rules and testimonies during the next few years may be briefly illustrated. In 1682 it was urged that "all take Heed that they be not found, in Wearing Superfluity of Apparel nor Immoderate nor Unseemly taking Tobacco." In 1685 appeared the first reference in the yearly meeting minutes to what we know today as the Yearly Meeting of Ministers and Elders: "It is further agreed that Friends in the Ministry do meet togther on the First Day Morning, at the Seventh Hour, before the Publick General Meetings." In the same year (1685): "This Meeting doth unanimously agree, & give as their Judgment, that it is not Consistent with the Honour of Truth, for any that make Proffesion thereof to sell Rum or other strong Liquors to the Indians." In 1686 definite provision was made for representatives to yearly meeting, as follows: "Agreed that Two Friends or more be appointed out of Every Quarterly Meeting, that are Capable to give an account of the Affairs of Truth, to attend this General Yearly Meeting." And it is distinctly provided that these representatives should attend "until the said Meeting Shall be Ended."

In 1688 came the famous but not wholly creditable minute concerning the antislavery protest sent up by the German Friends of Germantown. The protest itself was so very creditable that various German-American historians of recent years have been at pains to emphasize that the Germantown Friends at that time were more German than Quaker—as evidenced by the disposition made of their protest by the yearly meeting. The minute made was as follows: "A Paper being here presented by some German Friends, Concerning the Lawfullness & Unlawfulness of Buying & keeping of Negroes: It was adjudged not to be so proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgment in the Case, It having so General a Relation to many other parts & therefore at present they Forbear it." Thus with soft-gloved hands the yearly meeting handed a complete rebuff to the German Friends, just as it did on a later occasion to John Woolman. Of course the minute can be well defended on conservative grounds, as being at least abreast of the general sentiment among Friends at the time.

Yet the mere fact of its conservatism clearly illustrates the need for social sensitiveness and progressiveness among Christians. In the light of later events the Yearly Meeting of 1688 certainly missed a wonderful opportunity to anticipate by more than half a century its later splendid testimony against a monstrous social evil.

We may now take up the various disciplines in detail.

"Paper of Discipline" of 1689

APPARENTLY the first definitely formulated discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, antedating the three books of discipline already referred to, was a "Paper of Discipline" issued in 1689. (The early disciplines were frequently referred to as "Papers of Discipline.") In that year a committee of nine men, headed by George Keith, was appointed to draw up a paper: "Earnestly to Recommend to all the Quarterly Meetings, the Keeping of Godly and Christian Discipline, & more especially a Tender Inspection over Youth, & what other needful Perticulars they shall see in the Wisdom of God, necessary to Recommend & sign the same in behalf of the Meeting." [3] From the fact that Keith was named first on the committee, and from a knowledge of his ability to think and write on religious subjects, one would readily surmise that he was the chief author of the paper prepared. If Philadelphia Friends had known that he would soon be a belligerent apostate from the Quaker faith they would no doubt have been slow to make him the formulator of their first paper of discipline.

This Paper of Discipline was in the form of an epistle to the subordinate meetings and was printed for the yearly meeting the same year by William Bradford, on one side of a small sheet, eleven by fourteen inches. It is the only document resembling a discipline that was *printed* in the early period. The three early books of discipline, as mentioned above, were all in manuscript form. Much as early Friends relied upon the printing press for the spread of their literature, they were slow to use it in repro-

[3] MS. *Minutes* II, 22. This reference is to the manuscript *Minute Book,* Volume II, of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, in the vault at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The date given in the text will usually be considered a sufficient reference.

and the like Occasions, that when upon Inquiry, or otherwise, you hear or understand the same, ye do, with what convenient Expedition ye can, in tender Love, and in Brotherly and Sisterly Regard, acquaint them thereof, and by suitable Discourses and Proceedings, endeavour their Recovery, and that by such Means & Instruments, which are most likely to be successful, and least to be objected against.

Thirdly, That in your next Meetings you do with sincerity and diligence, take into your Fatherly and Motherly Consideration, the State and Condition of such who are scattered and gone astray from among you, and more especially of those who have not received the due Notice, and Gospel Order, which is to be expressed and given unto them. *Dear Friends*, Labour in the Spirit of Meekness, with the Bowels and Compassion of Truth, and in your measure, with the Wisdom which is from above, to possess them of the Danger and Insecurity of their State, and of the Uncertainty of the Ease and out-side Satisfaction which may seemingly attend, and flatter their Distance for a while; And that their continued Seperation from the Way of Truth, in its Requirings, and from the Obedience of the Holy Cross of *Christ Jesus*, is like to end with great Remorse, Tribulation and Anguish of Soul and Spirit. Behave your selves, we earnestly entreat you, with a Godly

in your having done your Duty in that respect here, and your Names will be continued in a worthy Remembrance hereafter.

¶ So *Dear Friends*, These few Requisite Heads remaining weighty with us at present, We have thought good to send unto you, and to leave them with you to be made use of, as ye shall see occasion and service, by the wisdom and direction of the good Spirit of Truth, well knowing (and we doubt not but the sence of the same is with you) That our holy Profession and Religious Assemblies greatly need to be strengthned, and accompanied with a Godly Life and Gospel Discipline, that so they may still continue both desirable to others, and savoury to such who are exercised therein. And further, that the Way of the Lord manifested to us, for the Glory of his Name, and Salvation of our Souls, be with Godly Earnestness and Pious Endeavours made known, and industriously recommended to our Children, and they encouraged thereunto, and countenanced therein; so shall the Lord count us worthy of his heavenly Gifts, and faithful Dispensers of the same, Obedient also to the Righteous Requirings of God, and duely Respectful to the worthy and imitable Pattern of Godly Parents, and both just as well as dutiful to our Posterity.

Having thus far cleared our Minds unto you, we bid you

Farewell.

Printed by William Bradford *at* Philadelphia, *Anno* 1689.

The Paper of Discipline of 1689. Original in the vaults at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia

A LOVING EXHORTATION TO FRIENDS,

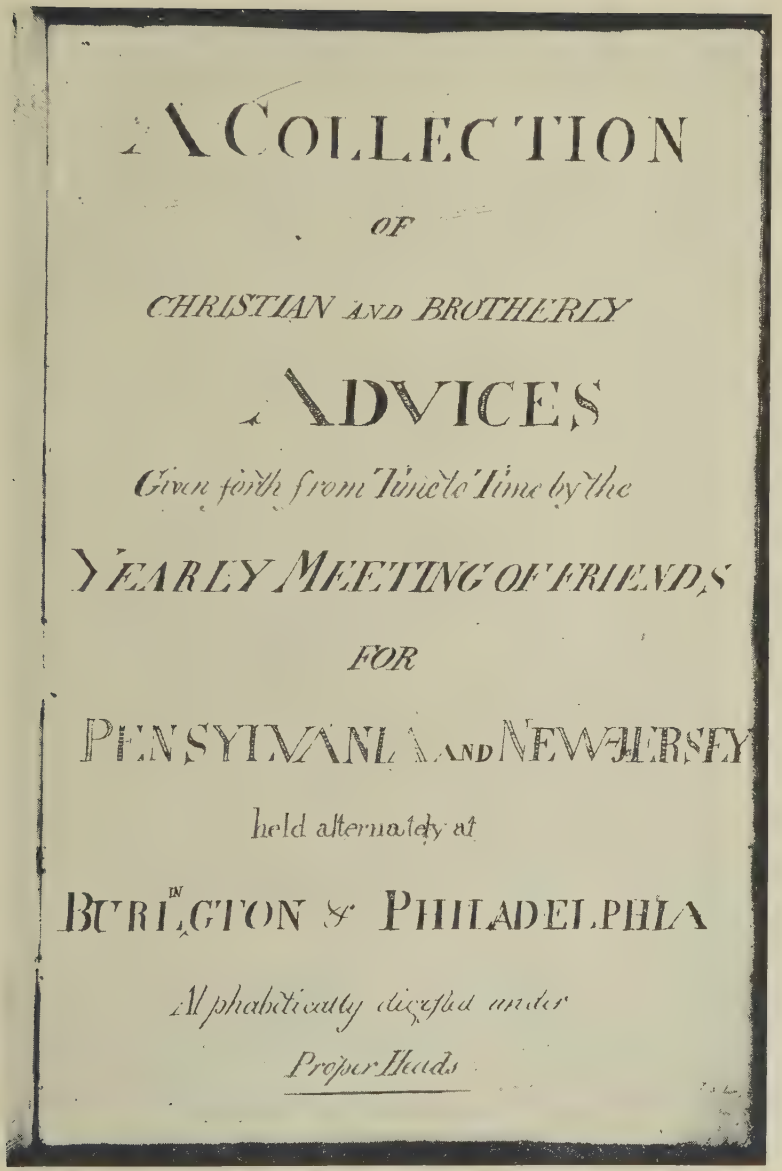
From a Yearly Meeting held at *Philadelphia*, the 4th of the 7th Moneth, 1689.

BEloved Friends of the the ſeveral Monethly and Quarterly Meetings in *Eaſt* and *Weſt-Jerſey*, and *Pennſilvania*, *&c.* In the Goſpel-fellowſhip and Unity of the Antient Truth, do we at this time ſalute you, and in much Love, Good will and Godly Care recommend unto you, and lay before you the Conſideration and due Regard of theſe few, but wholſom Particulars:

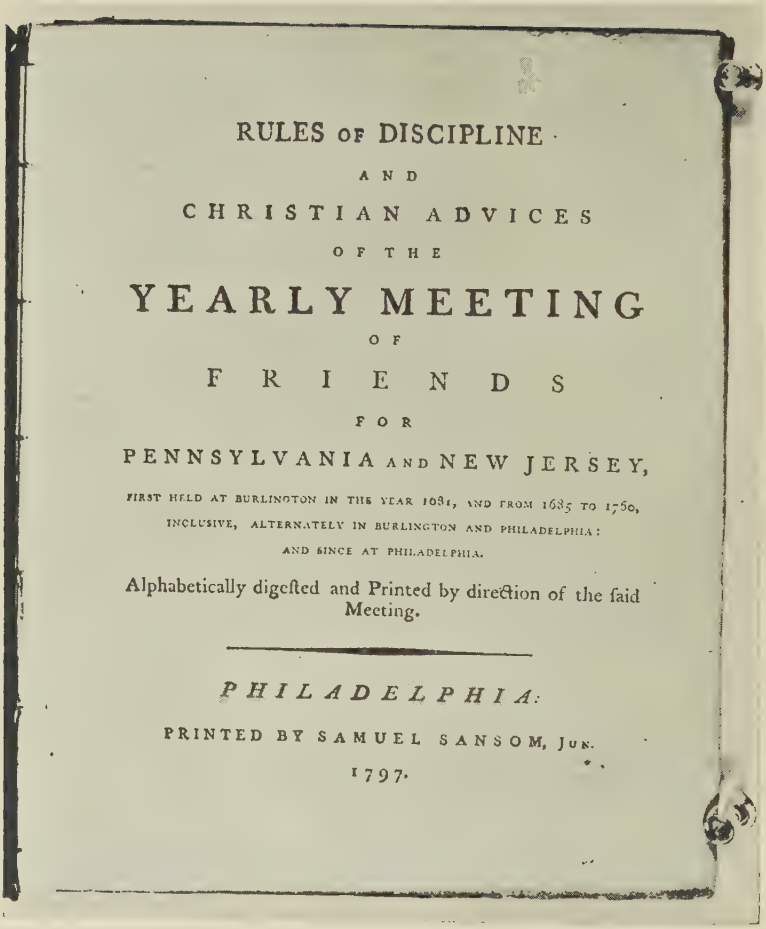
Firſt, That in your reſpective Meetings, ye earneſtly endeavour to continue and practiſe thoſe uſeful Inſtructions and that good Order eſtabliſhed among us in our Native Land, in reference to a Godly Life and an Honeſt Converſation, that ſo (as far as in you lieth) the Holy Truth and Profeſſion thereof may not ſuffer, or be evil ſpoken of, by the contrary Practiſes of any found among us; and that Miſdemeanours and Miſcarriages herein, may receive ſeaſonable Admonitions, Reproof or Cenſure.

Secondly, That Chriſtian Watchfulneſs and Wiſdom be uſed and exerciſed in your Meetings towards all ſuch who continue under a Profeſſion among you, yet walk diſorderly, or are Unſavoury, and of a bad Report in their Callings, Zeal and good Underſtanding therein, that the Witneſs of God may be anſwered in them, and your Proceedings may be well taken and ſpoken of; And that ye redeem any Remiſneſs or Negligence in Affairs of this Nature, in caſe any hath been, in your Meetings paſt, by your double Diligence for the future.

Fourthly, That ye frequently and faithfully mind one another of the Virtuous and Chriſtian Education of your Youth and Children, that they be bred up in Sobriety and in the form of Sound Words, and ſound Learning, according to the Holy Scriptures, and that they frequently read in the holy Scriptures, and abſtain from reading or hearing read all unſound, unprofitable and hurtful Books, which are too common in the world; ye do hereby, beſides the great Advantages received therewith by your Children, Transfer your Care, as Godly Parents, and as Exemplary Men and Women unto Poſterity. And as both Worth, and a Bleſſing, frequently fall upon them who are brought up and trained in the Nurture and Way of Truth, ſo for your Love and Reſpect to the Requirings and Commandments of the Lord, and in teaching the ſame to your Children, ye will receive the Reward of Peace, and the anſwer of a good Conſcience


A COLLECTION
OF
CHRISTIAN AND BROTHERLY
ADVICES
Given forth from Time to Time by the
YEARLY MEETING OF FRIENDS
FOR
PENSYLVANIA AND NEW-JERSEY
held alternately at
BURLINGTON & PHILADELPHIA
Alphabetically digested under
Proper Heads

Title-page of the Manuscript Discipline of 1762. Original in the Quaker Collections at Haverford College.



RULES OF DISCIPLINE

AND

CHRISTIAN ADVICES

OF THE

YEARLY MEETING

OF

FRIENDS

FOR

PENNSYLVANIA AND NEW JERSEY,

FIRST HELD AT BURLINGTON IN THE YEAR 1681, AND FROM 1685 TO 1760, INCLUSIVE, ALTERNATELY IN BURLINGTON AND PHILADELPHIA: AND SINCE AT PHILADELPHIA.

Alphabetically digested and Printed by direction of the said Meeting.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY SAMUEL SANSOM, JUN.

1797.

Title-page of the First Printed Discipline, of 1797. Original in the Library of Haverford College.

ducing their book of discipline, which they did not hold to be a document for general circulation.

The Paper of Discipline of 1689 contained only about six hundred words—a modest allotment for George Keith! After a salutation, the subject matter was divided into four chief headings. In the first place Friends were advised to follow the instructions and good order established among Friends in England. Secondly, the local meetings were advised to admonish and labor with those who walk disorderly but still profess with Friends. Thirdly, local Friends at their next meetings were to give serious consideration to those of their number who were scattered and gone astray. Finally came that basic Quaker concern that the children of Friends should be provided with a virtuous and Christian education.

This Paper or Epistle of Discipline was the smallest and first embryo in the records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of a collected and formulated discipline. It was a worthy legacy to the Society of Friends left by Keith the apostle, before he became the apostate. A copy of this document is preserved in the yearly meeting vault at 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia. The entire text is reproduced in the accompanying illustration.

First Book of Discipline, 1704

THE first major collection of the rules and testimonies of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, the first formulation of sufficient dimension to be called a Book of Discipline, came a few years later. Haverford's copy is contained in the volume picked up in the Providence book shop, a handsome old book of about one hundred fifty pages, still in its original leather binding.[4] At the beginning of this volume is the following: "From our Yearly Meeting held at Burlington the 20th day of ye 7th month 1704. A Generall Testimony against all Loosness & Vanity or what else may tend to ye Reproach of Truth and the hurt of ye Souls of the Youth or others." There follows an epistle of exhortation and warning to be read from time to time in local meetings, especially in youths' meetings. It covers about fifty pages and

[4] The following inscription appears inside the back cover: "Rich: Gove, To Deliver this Book to Tho Story from Benimin *(sic)* Gordon this 19 of 5th mo. 1707."

is made up largely of scriptural quotations. It was this that led the modern book dealer to list the volume as "An Epistle."

Later in the book, however, appears the real treasure. This second section of the volume is addressed: "To all Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in East-Jersey West-Jersey & Pensilvania." In a short introduction the yearly meeting explains the reasons for having a collected and formulated discipline. It begins with a reference to ancient precedent: "As in ye Churches of Christ in ye Primitive times wee may perceivè from ye Words of ye Apostle Paul That there was Order Setled and Establisht amongst ym.," etc. After some further explanation and justification, there follows a compilation of testimonies, advices, and rules for the right ordering of individuals and meetings, adopted "in order yt. according to ye Apostle's Advice Wee may all walk by ye same Rule and mind ye same thing." The date 1704 appears on this first page.

A notable fact about the first two disciplines, those of 1704 and 1719, is that there is recorded in them practically no concern for society at large. Almost everything in the documents is directed to the preservation of individual Friends and the Society of Friends.

In the discipline of 1704, roughly ten per cent of the matter is devoted to introduction and concluding exhortation, ten per cent to the government and interrelation of local and superior meetings, and the balance, or eighty per cent, to rules for individual conduct, including the procedure and penalties for enforcing such rules. The longest single item in the book refers to personal differences and the procedure for composing them. The next in length is the list of rules for individual conduct to be enforced by the Overseers. The word "enforced" is used advisedly, for the penalties to be visited on offenders are carefully laid out. The chief method of coercion was of course the proffered choice between an acknowledgment to the meeting and expulsion from the meeting. In the case of recalcitrant children, however, it is added that if the child continued obdurate, his disinheritance might be "warrantable Expedient and Cautionary." [5]

[5] *Discipline, 1704* (Haverford copy), p. 33.

These rules of discipline, the forerunners of our queries, contained testimonies regarding various practices as follows:

Positive testimonies: for the training of Friends' children under Friendly auspices; for plainness of speech and apparel, and of house-furnishings; for honesty and moderation in business; for regular attendance at Friends' meetings.

Negative testimonies: a longer list, including swearing, lying, and the immoderate use of liquor and tobacco; marrying out of the Society; particularized vanities, including periwigs, under the heading of plainness of apparel; sleeping in meeting or going in and out during meeting; tattling, tale-bearing and backbiting; attending the weddings of separatists, or inviting separatists to Friends' weddings (on account of the then recent Keithian separation); the sale of rum to the Indians; keeping company with intentions of marriage with an indentured woman servant without the consent of her master or mistress; running races on foot or on horseback; the laying of wagers, "or to use any gaming or Needless Pastime For as our time swiftly passeth away of its self so our Delight ought to be in ye law of ye lord." [6]

Some of the above testimonies are still of weight and consequence. Many of them seem today trivial and inconsequential. The greatest deficiency however in this Discipline is the lack of an outreaching religious or social message for the world outside of Quaker walls. The nearest approach to such a message is the testimony against the sale of rum to the Indians, and the order "that no frd. either Buy or Sell any Indian Slave." The warning against intemperance sounds modern, but it is for Friends only. There is no constructive peace message, not one word about the evils of war. There is no youth movement, no consideration of young Friends save as the proper objects for warning and exhortation. There is no vision of the social order outside of the Society of Friends. There is not a glimmer of the modern missionary motive that envisions the spread of the Gospel message to all peoples. It was a tragic circumstance that when Friends first formulated their rules of discipline they were moved by a controlling complex of exclusiveness and self-preservation.

[6] Above testimonies in *Discipline, 1704* (Haverford copy), pp. 37-55.

Discipline of 1719

THE second discipline, that of 1719, shows little change from that of 1704. It is, in its own words, the former discipline "Revised, Contracted & amended." The subject matter is little changed. Some of the advices, cautions, and rules of procedure are abbreviated. The caution against serving too much strong drink at burials is a considerable enlargement of the same item in the document of 1704. The statement that "this indecent & indiscreet Custom & practice" has run to great excess, should assure discouraged temperance reformers of the present day that, in spite of many losses, some progress has been made.

It is heartening to find that the social interest of Friends in those outside their own borders shows some sign of increasing. The cautions against Indian slavery and against selling liquor to the Indians are repeated and emphasized. "Also that none among us be Concerned in the fetching or importing Negro Slaves from their own Country or elsewhere: And it is the Advice of this Meeting that all Friends who have any of them do treat them wth: humanity & in a Christian manner & as much as in them lies make them acquainted with the Principles of Truth & inculcate Morality in them." [7]

This testimony concerning Negroes was not new, having been adopted in substance by the Yearly Meeting as early as 1698, and repeated in minutes and epistles at various times thereafter. Not until 1719, however, was it honored with a place in the discipline.

Taken by and large, the discipline of 1719 may be said to have been a somewhat abridged edition of the one of 1704, with the same general tone and content, with the main emphasis on Quaker self-preservation, but with a slight widening of altruistic vision.

Discipline of 1762

THE change of content is much more marked in the revision of 1762. Not only is the subject matter arranged topically, and the topics arranged alphabetically, but various additional rules and testimonies are added. Mourning, priests' wages,

[7] *Discipline, 1719* (Haverford copy), p. 22.

sorcery, taxes, taverns (1738, 1746), and wills (1721, 1722) find place in the document.[8]

The appointment of Elders comes into the discipline for the first time with the citation of minutes of 1714 and 1740. The Queries also are included, although the yearly meeting had formulated them as early as 1743.[9]

The most heartening feature of the Discipline of 1762 is the enlargement of the social message of Friends. On the subject of Indian relations there are four large pages, containing minutes of various years beginning with 1685. The testimonies are not only against the sale of rum and against buying or selling Indian slaves, but against every form of unfair dealing and for the exercise of true Christian grace in maintaining peace and friendship with the natives. A minute of 1759, drawn in the midst of the terrible French and Indian War, went to the source of the Quaker policy of peace with the Indians: "It was by the gracious Influences of his Holy Spirit that they [the first Quaker settlers] were disposed to work Righteousness & walk uprightly one towards another, & towards the Natives, & in Life & Conversation to manifest the Excellency of the Principles & Doctrines of the Christian Religion." [10]

Another notable feature of this third book of discipline is the forward sweep of the testimony against slavery—for by 1762 the voice of John Woolman had been heard in the land. Seventeen pages are devoted to this subject, with extracts from the minutes of twenty-two different years, beginning with the historic protest of Germantown Friends in 1688.

From that great landmark the road of reform was apparently rugged and steep, with little progress made for long years, and with obstacles placed constantly in the way by selfish and con-

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[8] The above dates indicate the year dates of the minutes incorporated in the discipline.

[9] Very soon after the Discipline of 1704 was promulgated (as early as 1707 and 1708) various monthly and quarterly meetings found it convenient to formulate questions or queries to be answered by the overseers in each local meeting concerning the observance of various rules and regulations contained in the discipline. Later, as above, the yearly meeting put forth a uniform set of queries to be used by all meetings within its borders. See Michener, *Retrospect of Early Quakerism,* p. 250.

[10] *Discipline, 1762* (Haverford copy), p. 98.

servative interests. For decades a testimony against importing, buying, or selling slaves was as much as the yearly meeting could muster, although as early as 1712, in an epistle to London Yearly Meeting, Friends of Philadelphia questioned the rightness of owning slaves. The victory of the long, hard travail of many earnest apostles of truth is at hand, however, when one reads the minute of 1758 in which a committee, headed by John Woolman, is appointed "to visit & treat with all such Friends who have any Slaves."

The story recorded in these extracts is perhaps a fair epitome of all great struggles against ancient evil and entrenched selfishness. Its outcome is a heartening confirmation of the poet's word that "though the cause of evil prosper, yet 'tis Truth alone that's strong."

In the discipline of 1762 the greatest addition to the social message of Friends is the inclusion of the testimony against war. Although George Fox and other friends of the first generation saw clearly the basic antipathy between Christianity and war, no testimony on the subject was included in the first two books of discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. Twelve and a half large pages are devoted to it, however, in the book of 1762.

The extracts cited in this book begin with a noble word spoken by the yearly meeting in 1739: "Advised, That Friends be vigilant in keeping up the peacable Principles possessed by us as a People & in no manner join with such as may be for making warlike Preparations Offensive or defensive but upon all Occasions to demean themselves in a peacable Manner, thereby to demonstrate to the World that our Practices, (when we are put to the Trial) correspond with our Principles."

After this statement come extracts from yearly meetings of succeeding years, including a ringing testimony from the London Yearly Meeting of 1744 referring to its own declarations on the subject from as early as 1693. In America the French and Indian War brought the war question to a focus so that the discipline gives most of its space to extracts from the years 1755-1759.

In the minute of the latter year is a passage couched in stately phrase that may well have come from the pen of John

Woolman: "If we carefully consider the peaceable Measures pursued in the first Settlement of the Land; & that Freedom from the desolations of War, which for a long Time we enjoyed, We shall find ourselves under strong Obligations to the Almighty, who, when the Earth is so genr^{y}. polluted with Wickedness gave us a being in a Part so signally favoured with Tranquility & Plenty, & in which the glad Tidings of the gospel of Christ are so freely published, that we may justly say with the Psalmist 'What shall we render to the Lord for all his Benefits.' "

Conclusion

THE discipline of 1762 closes the epoch of manuscript books of discipline. The question of printing the discipline and giving it a wider distribution had been before the yearly meeting as early as 1718, when it was decided that such a course would be unwise. To this policy Friends adhered until the year 1797, when the first printed book of discipline of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting came from the press of Samuel Sansom, Jr., in Philadelphia. In its topical and alphabetical arrangement and in its content it was not greatly changed from the manuscript volume of 1762.

In reviewing the books of discipline of 1704, 1719, and 1762 the outstanding impression is one in which pain and pleasure are commingled. It is painful to realize that when the Society of Friends first formulated its rules of order, the great central motive was evidently self-preservation. Such a motive was a sure guarantee of a sad period of decadence. The finer part is to see developing within the period of about half a century, three great outreaching social concerns that were the hope of renewed life: the concern for the welfare of the American Indians, which is still a precious heritage for us to cherish; the testimony against Negro slavery, which is the fairest page in our historic past; and the peace testimony, which is perhaps our greatest message for the present age. The story told by these three books of discipline is convincing evidence of the truth that even a religious society that seeks chiefly to save its own life shall lose it, while one that will lose its life in the world's need shall find it.

FOUR POEMS BY RAYNER W. KELSEY

Two Pilgrims in the Quest of Truth

IN the far pilgrimage of life, deal gently with thy brother in the way;
Look not too darkly on his wide diverging path;
That he forsakes the true and hurries toward the false,
Be slow to charge. And for thyself,
Claim not too surely that thy path alone is right.
Mayhap the realm of truth is greater than we know,
Nearer to us than ever we have dreamed;
And even now, perchance, from his high citadel,
Peering afar, the King of Truth doth see,
Within the outer precincts of his land,
Toiling in faith by long converging paths,
Two slow-oncoming pilgrims in the quest of Truth.

From *The American Friend*, vol. 15 (1908) : p. 661.

My Sequoia Symphony

To the "Grizzly Giant" in the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees, California. Age, about 5,000 years.

TO live the few decades of my years as well as this mighty tree has lived its thousands.

Early to lay firm hold upon enduring foundations; to grow straight, without gnarls or crooked places; to do triumphant battle with every storm and thus get strength and give some shelter to my fellows; to bear heroically the searing fires of sorrow, and wait patiently for Time's healing hand to close the deep-burned scars; to grow old cheerfully, and keep my head well up toward Heaven's sunlight; stoutly to keep the Silent Conqueror at bay until my time shall come; then to fall bravely and without complaint.

Thus to be regal in my little place, as this great tree is king among his fellows—this is my Sequoia Symphony.

From *The American Friend*, vol. 16 (1909) : p. 49.

We Think of Thee

Addressed to Herbert Hoover, and sent to him. Never published.

O SILENT man upon the sunset slope,
Renew thy strength beside our western sea;
And know that tossing still 'twixt fear and hope,
Unnumbered grateful hearts oft think of thee.

We saw thee in the days of war and hate,
Pursue thy healing work in many lands;
We knew thee when the storm-tossed Ship of State
Was kept on course by steady, faithful hands.

O rest thee well amid thy sun-lit hills,
In dignity and grace, until at length,
Mayhap thy stricken country or the world
Will see again thy wisdom and thy strength.

We pray another pilot now may cope,
And guide the Ship against an angry sea;
Yet midst the changing tides of fear and hope,
We think of thee, great heart, we think of thee.

1933

Uncle Allen

The recent death of Salem Tutt Whitney, who played the part of Noah in *The Green Pastures,* suggested to Dr. Kelsey the following:

LAST winter when *The Green Pastures* was in Philadelphia, I saw Salem Tutt Whitney play his great part of Noah. I also heard him give an address to the young people at Haverford Friends' Meeting House. He mentioned in his address that he came from Logansport, Indiana, and I asked him after the meeting whether he remembered an old colored man who used to peddle sandwiches and cakes at the railroad station in Logansport. He answered with joy that the old colored man was his own Uncle Allen. As I was very fond of Uncle Allen in my college days, when I passed back and forth between Chicago and Richmond, Indiana, this meeting with his nephew after 30 years brought back many old memories. As a result I wrote some verses in memory of Uncle Allen, which are copied below.

The amusing part of the incident to me is that after I had sent a copy of my verses to Mr. Whitney, he wrote to me that he had shown a copy to "Gabriel, Adam, Moses, and the High Priest" and they all expressed appreciation. Now I do not claim to be much of a poet; but I want to ask how many other poets in the world have had the approval of such a heavenly hierarchy as the above-mentioned?

[The poem is as follows:]

"PEACH pie, apple pie, sandwiches and cake,
Some fo' everybody like yo' mammy used to make."
At the railroad station, meeting every train,
Good old Uncle Allen chanted his refrain:
"Peach pie, apple pie, sandwiches and cake,
"Some fo' everybody like yo' mammy used to make."

Just a poor old darky in his humble rôle,
Thanking you and bowing for his meager dole;
Yet he gave us something time cannot erase,
Waiting at the station with his smiling face.

Years and miles away now, how it all comes back;
Life has not been easy down the crooked track;
Yet it has been sweeter through the rugged miles
When I have remembered Uncle Allen's smiles.

When the day is over and the journey done,
When I reach the Station on my final run,
I should like to see him standing at the door,
With his battered basket, standing as before:

"Peach pie, apple pie, sandwiches and cake,
"Some fo' everybody, like yo' mammy used to make."
That would be a welcome after all the miles,
Meeting at the Gateway Uncle Allen's smiles.

The poem was published anonymously in *The Friend* (Philadelphia), vol. 106 (1933): p. 500.

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By Anna B. Hewitt

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CULTURAL QUALITIES IN EARLY QUAKERISM

By Luella M. Wright

THE daily life of the early Friends presented a paradox. Most writers on civilization and culture express the belief that the *business* of life must precede the *art* of living. The primitive Quakers, however, by throwing into secondary importance the business of living, laid a foundation, almost without realizing it, for the art of living. By degrees this achievement became so ingrained in them as to produce a mental poise which enabled "the Quakers of the olden time" to live a full life, spiritually at peace with their individual selves in their consciousness of the Inner Light of God, and as time went on, at peace with their fellow men. On account of their ability to live in peaceable relationship with incoming immigrants and with the Indians, the Friends in pioneer days were, according to historical tradition, encouraged to settle the American frontiers. Somewhat paradoxical, too, is the fact that this primary, yet with them scarcely sensed, emphasis on the art of living brought the Friends in time moderate success in the business world, a competence at least above the material necessities of life.

The word culture had no place whatsoever in the vocabularies of George Fox's seventeenth-century Publishers of Truth; in fact at no time has it occupied a conspicuous position in Quaker thinking and writing. In connection with this point it is almost a truism to remark that the culture-conscious individual is seldom truly cultured. What we may consider as early Quaker culture consisted of the accumulated reactions of men and women to the Quaker way of life, the basic principle of which rested on an effort to respiritualize religion and secular life. This attitude of mind produced in them an inner poise of spirit which tended to constrain individuals from too hurriedly dissipating their energies, while at the same time it gave them a sense of *at-one-ment* with the universe. Many students of culture would consider the early Quakers' manner of viewing life as incomplete; for even though the Friends made careful provision for the education of their young people, yet in their scheme of life they consistently relegated purely intellectual and artistic pursuits to minor positions. They did succeed, however, in living genuine, wholesome, often beautiful lives in the midst of overwhelming hardships and of troubled times. England and America have frequently seen the enduring qualities of this culture bear fruit in the Quaker's awareness of life values, manifested in his determined stand for social welfare, for prison reform, and also in antislavery agitation, as well as in measures for international peace. People frequently forget that William Penn drew up the first document for a world court, in which he proposed a "Diet of Nations." [1] This culture has also manifested itself at times in the intensity of the Quaker's faith, and traditionally it is reflected in the calm contour of his countenance as well as in the simplicity of his daily habits.

Not all of Quaker history, not even that of the first two generations, could stand the test of culture; for the pages of Besse and Sewel reveal heated arguments, enmity within the units that composed the London Yearly Meeting, and cases of fanaticism. Even so, the inherent elements that in the seventeenth century

[1] William Penn, *Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe.* The most available edition is to be found in the *Peace of Europe* in Everyman's Library.

gave the Quaker his poised demeanor came into birth during the stormy periods of the Protectorate and the succeeding reigns of the later Stuarts. Those earliest years established a pattern for converts, a series of reactions, and a goal for living in this world which have very often been reflected in places where Quakers have been numerous enough to make their influence felt. The full-skirted gowns and grey bonnets, the buttonless coats and broad-brimmed hats have all but disappeared, and their going has removed practically the last vestige of the picturesque from Quakerism. To the pioneer Friends, plain garb had symbolized the apartness of the Quaker group from the artificialities of life which the followers of George Fox found everywhere about them. Though the garb has disappeared yet ideally many Friends hold tenaciously to certain values which dominated the Quaker mind upwards of thirty decades ago.

I

IN SO brief an article only a very few qualities of Quaker culture can be selected for discussion, four in all. The one which at first attracted attention to the Quaker group was a fearless sincerity, notable in speech and action. To offset the puritan zeal for reformation resulting from overseriousness of mind, the Quaker almost in self-defense early acquired a leavening sense of humor. To these two attributes must be added, third, the quality of exclusiveness, and also, fourth, the one most conducive to genuine culture, a meditative cast of mind. An examination of early literature reveals the prevalence of these four cultural traits in the very beginnings of the Quaker movement.

Fortunately a strong personal element pervades the upwards of three thousand separate publications in which the first two generations of Friends set forth their defenses and their tenets. The Quaker literary genius readily lent itself to confessional writing; in fact, during this period out of more than four hundred contributors to the Quaker press nearly a fifth left either fragmentary or complete autobiographies. In length these confessions vary from a few hundred words to Thomas Story's thousand-page folio. No better data than these eighty and more memoirs can be found for studying the enduring qualities of Quakerism—qualities which enabled George Fox to send forth

his seventy First Publishers of Truth and a century later induced Elizabeth Fry to interest England in prison reform, which still later aroused Whittier to denounce slavery, and which at this moment are placing Friends in the van of the movement for world peace.

Long ago the calm quietude of the Friends became traditional; nevertheless, the Quaker movement in its inception ran counter to perpetual storms. The adjustment which the Friends have uniformly made to life can only be understood by traveling back in mind to George Fox, who demonstrated to his followers that in the midst of privations and persecutions life could become sacramental, thrilling, and worth the struggle. Before the close of Cromwell's Protectorate, the Friends looked up to George Fox, who in the rôle of prophet had directed their religious observances to the spirituality of apostolic Christianity and who urged them to adopt simple habits of life. In the midst of confused thinking and the breakdown of old institutions, he forbade violence and preached peace; and in the midst of social unrest, his followers found peace. Primarily, Quaker culture has resulted from an inner spiritual activity which has again and again insulated the Friends from the buffets of the world and yet paradoxically enough has rendered them sympathetically alert to the needs of mankind.

Their early writers chronicle case after case of fearless sincerity and of resolute courage, accompanied by a self-control which was deeply rooted in faith—faith in themselves, in their mission, and particularly in the Inner Light. Practical mystics as they were, they developed an attitude of mind which enabled them to bear material losses with equanimity. In those days it required rigid self-control for Quaker householders to stand by without resistance while legal authorities attached their chattels and carted away their plows and spinning wheels, when they and the owners fully realized that the value of the confiscated property very often thrice or twice thrice exceeded the amount of the tithe demanded.[2] It required extreme courage, too, for

[2] *A Journal of the Life of . . . John Gratton*, pp. 70, 78, 81, 83; *The Christian Progress of George Whitehead* (1725), 500, 506, 514, 543, 583, 598; *Extracts State Papers Relating to Friends.* Published for the Friends Historical Society. London, 1910, pp. 298-301, 310, 313.

Friends passively to watch officers of the law hammer down their plain and steepleless meeting houses and, at the point of the bayonet, drive their unresisting fellow members to prison.[3] It required faith and spiritual courage for wives to manage shops and farms while husbands lay for months, sometimes for years, in prisons,[4] and in other cases for Friends to know that "for the Truth's sake" their wives and daughters were housed in fetid prisons with felons, prostitutes, and murderers.[5]

Instead of acting as deterrents, persecutions such as these strengthened the inner fiber of the Friends. They would have agreed with the thought of their near contemporary, Lovelace, that stone walls do not a prison make. For instance, William Dewsbury, who from twenty years of confinement well knew the filth of English prisons, displayed his mental aloofness in the following words which he wrote in 1652 during his incarceration at Scarborough, "When Sion's enemies put the servants of the Lord into holes and dungeons God makes a prison more comfortable than a palace, and fetters of iron surpassing chains of gold." [6] The early convert recognized the fact that his joining the then despised sect of Quakers insured for him ostracism from his former associates. After his affiliation with the Society, as he became sensitive to the implications of Quaker teachings, he soon learned to protest with vigor against all instances of pretense and insincerity; but such protesting soon brought him to the realization that Quaker principles could be maintained only at the expense of worldly possessions and of bodily comfort.

George Fox's self-illuminating journal repeatedly portrays the fundamental sincerity of the Quaker type of mind. Once at the close of a conference at Whitehall, the Protector suggested that

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[3] George Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 45, 341, 371; *Persecution Exposed in Memoirs . . . of John Whiting* (2d ed. 1791), pp. 148-158.

[4] See letters of Ann Banks written to her husband in *A Journal of the Life of . . . John Banks*, 1712.

[5] *A Journal of the Life of . . . John Banks*, pp. 98-100, 102-104; *An Account of the Convincement of . . . Richard Davies* (5th ed. 1794), 60; George Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 87, 539; *The Humble Petition to the King*, 1682.

[6] Extract of letter written by William Dewsbury to Bristol Friends in April, 1678. Quoted in *Christian Life, Faith, and Thought* (issued by London Yearly Meeting), London, 1922, p. 19.

George Fox "eat a bit of bread" and "drink a cup of wine"—an offer which Fox with simple dignity declined. Perceiving in this act the independence of mind which had prompted the founder of Quakerism to refuse any favor from any temporal ruler, Cromwell declared, "Now I see there is a people risen and come up that I cannot win with gifts, honours, or places; but all others I can." [7] On another occasion, in words which have been frequently quoted, George Fox recorded that certain associates of his youth had reported, "If George says, 'Verily,' there is no moving him; and that other men, at heart hostile to him testified that his character was reputed to be 'stiff as a tree and clear as a bell'."

Innumerable tests of character which would have discouraged all but the fearless souls of men and women were revealed through the turning of time-worn and yellowed pages which were written by these confessants between the years 1653 and 1725. The convert who was at all skilled with his pen formed the habit of jotting down his individual encounters with unfair or false dealings, a practice which he often continued throughout his life. One of these authors, George Whitehead, a Quaker preacher, who had devoted seventy years of his life to the vindication of Quaker beliefs, died at the age of ninety at his London home in 1723. Written by an active participant, his bulky journal therefore combines a personal memoir with a history of the first seven decades of Quakerism. Many of its episodes illustrate the fact that material losses and bodily pain sank into insignificance if only the Quaker seeker could attain an absolutely clear conscience and inner peace. For executing the dictates of inner guidance, George Whitehead was again and again flogged, stoned from villages, and imprisoned.

These first preachers acquired almost perforce a physical and emotional self-control. George Whitehead, for instance, in his early preaching days once made arrangements for a public meeting at Peterborough. Throughout the preceding week he fought against a sense of onrushing disaster; and on the day appointed, disaster did come "in the shape of a tallish man" with "a furious disposition," a ringleader with a mob at his heels. Whitehead

[7] *Journal of George Fox* (Tercentenary ed.), p. 106.

later confided to his journal that, in spite of premonitions, he felt himself "prepared in mind to suffer whatever the evil doers would inflict." At the appointed hour in the midst of the clamorous mob he mounted a stool, but he had scarcely "opened his mouth to declare the Truth" when men strategically located in the crowd added to the confusion by hurling eggs and clods of dirt at him. He raised his voice, and as calmly as possible continued speaking until someone threw a joint stool at him. Instead of dislodging him, however, it struck "an ancient woman" among his auditors. Breaking off his discourse he surprised his hearers by requesting them to open a passage way for him through the crowd; and heading toward the insurgent leader, he deliberately surrendered himself to the rioters. The effect upon them was surprisingly disconcerting. At night he wrote in his autobiography the following simple statement, "When I was in their hands, I felt ease in my spirit, being sensible that the Lord (who stood by me) was secretly pleading my case with them." [8] On this occasion his fearless faith in inner guidance stood him in good stead, for within a very short time the mob released him and before nightfall permitted him to conduct a meeting, "peaceable" and satisfactory to him. In those days Quakerism demanded of its adherents courage and self-control.

II

ON FIRST acquaintance these eighty confessions seem preternaturally serious. Closer contact with them, however, reveals a sense of the comic with gleams of intellectual humor brightening many a page. The ability of the Friends to discover humor in the face of appalling and grim reality attests their fundamental sanity and mental balance. In keeping with the current literature of the times these memorandists delighted in puns and repartee. William Bayly, for instance, fell in with the literary fashion of the day by writing to an opposing controversialist, "William Hayworth, thou sayst thou hast made a *full* reply to that little book *The Quaker Converted.* I must grant that it is a *reply,* and very *full,* but it is *full* of lies, slanders, contradictions and confusions." [9] Many of these early journalists

[8] George Whitehead, *op. cit.,* pp. 230-232.
[9] *Wrightings of William Bayly.* See his reply to William Haworth.

recorded instances of quick retorts made to their opponents and persecutors. At one time a Derbyshire rector remonstrated with John Gratton because he refused to pay the customary tithes to the Church of England after joining the Quakers. After listening in silence to the administered rebukes, Gratton with a gleam of penetration in his eye counterchallenged the clergyman with this quiet retort, "Prithee, dost thou admonish me for the love of my soul or for the love of my money?" At the moment desire for sincerity in word may have prompted Gratton's question, but the recording of it in his journal no doubt implies that the author was conscious of the wit underlying his query.

Very frequently the humor in these confessions grew out of a situation in which the Quaker so framed his answer as to confuse the questioner and the issue. Many Friends who suffered under the courts acquainted themselves with nice legal points; and thus armed they often successfully pitted their wits against those of bishops and justices who sought to entrap them. Probably the richest strain of recorded Quaker humor is to be found in the *Life of John Roberts*, written by his son Daniel. This biographer has presented numerous instances of his yeoman father's ability to parry questions put to him by clergy and barristers. On one occasion after the restoration of church and king, John Roberts was arraigned before Bishop Nicolson of Gloucester on the charge of neglecting to present his three children for the rite of baptism. After being questioned formally what reason he had for prohibiting "the bishoping of his children," he brought the laughter of the ecclesiastical court upon the bishop by quickly retorting, "A very good one, I think; most of my children were born in Oliver's day when bishops were out of fashion."

Again humor often arose out of an occurrence in which one person read into a situation a meaning directly opposite from that intended. After several stormy encounters Richard Davies and his wife had succeeded in establishing a meeting at Welshpool in Montgomeryshire. Shortly after this, jealous adherents of the Church of England prevailed upon certain officers of the law to disband this particular Quaker gathering. Led by Justice Corbet, they broke into a Quaker meeting for worship and proceeded to list officially all the Friends who were present. Corbet

supposed that he had completed his task when a woman's voice sharply informed him that "one name was untaken." Knowing well the Quaker's reputation for absolute veracity, he looked around in surprise to ask, "Who is untaken?" Before him he beheld the wife of Richard Davies holding out at arm's length her three-months-old baby. Startled and abashed, he drew back stammering that the child was under age. With a snap of intellect the Quaker woman saw her advantage in the turn of circumstances. She spoke incisively: "We are as innocent from plotting, conniving, or thinking harm as this little child." [10] Such humor, often grim and often intellectual, emerging as it frequently did from harsh reality, portrays a sanity of mind that refused to succumb to suffering. In succeeding days when persecution abated, this trait became integrally a part of the Quaker's attitude toward hardship imposed upon him by life.

III

IN A very true sense the exclusiveness of the Friends represents an outstanding attribute of their culture. A degree of apartness from the world has always been inevitable for them. From within the group the acceptance of a new gospel, held blasphemous by the fundamentalists of the Commonwealth, the voluntary acceptance of tenets concerning oaths, greetings, dress, and speech, and four decades of persecution from church and state could not but bring the early Friends into a federated unity and at the same time develop group consciousness and like-mindedness among them. Very early the Friends secured a rare balance in learning how to harmonize the conflicting demands of individual responsibility to the inward voice of God by laying their more serious problems before the members of their meetings.[11] In this way the controlling and unifying power of the Quaker group checked types of fanaticism that in time might very well have ruined both the individual enthusiast and the Society. In the seventeenth century group consciousness tended to restrain the Friends from the pitfalls of fanaticism; and in

[10] *An Account of the Convincement, Exercises, Services, and Travels of . . . Richard Davies* (5th ed., 1794), pp. 79, 80.

[11] *The Memorable Account of the Christian Experiences of Stephen Crisp*, London, 1694, pp. 21, 22.

more recent times it has enabled a minority to stand for the highest ideals of national and international welfare.

IV

AMONG the early Friends the power of meditation, ingrained by tradition and deliberately cultivated, furnished the deepest and most basic foundation of Quaker culture. The primitive Friends' habitual and quiet communion lay close to the heart of their religious life and dominated their outlook upon the world in which they lived. Their searching of the heart for guidance, their practical mysticism, their simplicity of life, and the long silences of the meetings for worship produced the model for Whittier's *The Quaker of the Olden Time.* This sense of communion is based on faith in man and in God which in mystical natures produces a sense of an ordered universe and the personal worth of all human life. For these Friends, meditation opened the way to more complete living.

George Fox in his public address and epistles urged upon his followers the need of inner quiet. "Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit," he once wrote to Elizabeth, the favorite daughter of Oliver Cromwell.[12] As one would surmise, meditations held an important place in early Quaker literature. For instance, as Richard Greenway, a Quaker sea captain, voyaged across the Atlantic in the stormy winter of 1679, he jotted down his reflections from day to day in his sea log. On his return he ordered their printing on large broadsheets for distribution among British sailors. In one reverie he very finely gave expression to the place which meditation held in the Quaker way of life. He thus reflected: "Grace is a bud, which in the summer of Eternity becomes a Flower of Glory: Grace is a stream flowing through the Fountains of Divine Love: Serious meditations are the Conduits through which the Celestial Stream flows to the Soul." [13]

"Study to be quiet" was a goal to be striven for in Quaker schools, in Quaker homes, and in Quaker meetings. In spite of numerous apostasies, many lapses in conduct, and the develop-

[12] *Journal of George Fox* (Bicent. ed.), I, 432.

[13] See broadside of Richard Greenway entitled *A Present From the Owners of the Ship Leeds-Industry to Her Sailors, Being Meditations of R. G. at Sea.*

ment of fanaticism in many quarters, a generous "remnant of Quaker Israel" felt the need for meditation. Two hours or more a week spent with like-minded worshippers, where the service began in a prayerful solemnity which might remain unbroken, could not fail to deepen introspective and reflective qualities among the early Friends. Quaker memorandists refer again and again to the influence of solitary reflection upon major crises in life, and upon their ability to estimate relative values whenever worldly and spiritual values came into conflict. This habit of silence, especially cultivated in individual and group worship, influenced the formation of the Quaker mind and fostered its growth. Courageous faith, simplicity in life which nevertheless was touched with a quiet humor, and an aloofness which never precluded humanitarian sympathies, contributed in large measure to the Quaker art of living. But among all the influences making for culture, contemplation held the foremost position. It brought to the primitive Friends a sense of adjustment between "the seen and the unseen world," and enabled them to view with inner quietude the restlessness of the world about them.

WILLIAM PENN'S PLACE IN THE HALL OF FAME

By Charles Francis Jenkins [1]

Should a bust of William Penn be included in the Hall of Fame, from the viewpoint of the Friends' Historical Association? This is the subject to be covered in the eight-minute period which has been assigned me. I might take half a minute and emphatically answer "Yes," and be done with it.

I must confess that I had a rather hazy idea about the American Hall of Fame until the reopening of the subject made necessary a wider knowledge of what it is and where. After this evening all of us who have not seen the Hall should resolve on a visit there when next in New York.

Founded in 1900 in connection with New York University, on University Heights, New York, the Hall of Fame is to have

[1] An address delivered January 14, 1935, in Philadelphia, at a meeting of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA AS WILLIAM PENN KNEW IT

1684

COMMEMORATION OF THE 250TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE FIRST ARRIVAL, OCTOBER 24, 1682,
OF WILLIAM PENN IN AMERICA 1682-1932.
PREPARED FOR THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE,
ALBERT·COOK·MYERS·CHAIRMAN, PHILADELPHIA-1932

DRAWN BY WILLIAM WILSON POLLOCK
WITH THE HISTORICAL COLLABORATION OF
ALBERT COOK MYERS

by the year 2000, according to its original conception, 150 panels adorned by 150 tablets beneath 150 busts of great Americans. Candidates for placement in the architecturally beautiful colonnade, which was built especially for this purpose, are first selected by the Senate of the University of New York and then referred to a committee of about 100 distinguished authors, editors, artists, educators, scientists, jurists and men and women of affairs, representing all the States of the Union. This is a hand-picked list of electors, whose names are not generally known, this semisecrecy being maintained, I presume, so that they will not have pressure brought upon them or be annoyed by the active solicitation of their votes.

Sixty-nine persons have so far been elected and their tablets are in place. While the plan calls for five to be elected every quinquennium, this year, I understand, sixteen are to be chosen to make up for the omissions of previous years. No person is eligible unless he has been dead at least twenty-five years.

Now who are these sixty-nine men and women whose achievements in every line of worth-while human endeavor are thus rewarded? If the average American, and perhaps Englishman, were asked who are the three leading characters in American history, the answer, on a little reflection, would undoubtedly be George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and Benjamin Franklin. And this is how the selection was made, except that for some inscrutable reason the New Englanders crowded in Daniel Webster ahead of Benjamin Franklin and made the latter fourth in the list. But there must be no quarrel over the sixty-nine individuals already honored. If some of the names are not immediately familiar as household words, still we must bow to the superior wisdom of the appointed judges. For instance, I wonder how many of you will immediately identify Matthew Fontaine Maury, William Thomas Green Morton, James Kent, or Joseph Story. Still, I agree that every name now graven in the Hall of Fame could properly quote from *Paradise Lost*:

> Not to know me augurs yourself unknown,
> The lowest of your throng.

Now what are William Penn's specific claims to be included in this, our American Valhalla? According to the original plan,

no one born outside our States or colonies was eligible for election; but in 1914 this restriction was abandoned. It would have debarred Alexander Hamilton, born in the West Indies; Louis Agassiz, a native of Switzerland; Augustus Saint Gaudens, who saw the light of day in Ireland; Roger Williams, born in England; and John Paul Jones, of Scotland. William Penn is no longer debarred by reason of the place of his birth.

It would be a waste of some of my fast fleeting eight minutes, in this audience and on this occasion, to list Penn's varied qualifications for a sure place in any world-wide Temple of Fame. The man whom a distinguished English historian, Lord Acton, pronounced "the greatest historic figure of his age," and of whom Tennyson wrote "that he was no comet of a season, but the fixed light of a dark and graceless age shining on into the present," needs no modern jury of intellectuals to place him in that greater hall, the hearts and affections of millions of thoughtful people, not only in his beloved Pennsylvania, but throughout the world. This morning I received a letter from a friend who spends his life traveling over the world, who says, "In many countries in which I have worked I have found that William Penn was far more known and appreciated, even among school children, than Philadelphians may be aware of."

If I might mildly criticize the bulk result of the selections already made, it would be to call attention to the lack of geographical balance which the electors have so far shown. Of the sixty-nine names already inscribed, more than half—to be exact, thirty-six—come from New England. We of Pennsylvania are not yet ready to admit that all the brains have grown east of the Hudson River. The Hall of Fame to fulfil its purpose must be a national pantheon and not a sectional one. Pennsylvania now has but two native-born representatives, Robert Fulton and Daniel Boone, while Massachusetts men and women occupy twenty-six panels in the corridor. This disparity could be partly overcome if, through our efforts and the jury's sense of propriety, William Penn were elected this year.

I would wish that my dear old friend and our long-time President of the Historical Society, Governor Samuel W. Pennypacker, might return to comment on this disparity.

It has been argued that William Penn was not an American, but takes his rightful place among the great of England. It is true he spent but four years of his eventful life on these western shores; but if ever a man was more wrapped up in the development of America, if ever a statesman contributed more to the foundations of our liberties and prosperity or gave more to civic righteousness and toleration, bring him forward and place him on his pedestal before William Penn is considered.

Though I do not for a moment suggest the removal or exclusion of John Paul Jones from the Hall of Fame, let me point out that Jones spent far less time in America than did Penn. He, too, was born and died and was buried in a foreign land. George Peabody, one of the happiest of selections by the electors, went to England at forty-two and spent the most active and useful thirty-two years of his life in London. He was offered a peerage and his bust adorns England's Temple of Fame in Westminister Abbey. Here, too, our English cousins have placed Henry W. Longfellow; and, as most of you have seen for yourselves, statues of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln have been erected in prominent places in London, mute testimony to England's breadth and tolerance.

If Roger Williams, the founder of the little colony of Rhode Island and all his life a subject of England, is entitled to his niche, what are the electors thinking of when they so far have ignored the qualifications of William Penn? Penn's princely empire embraced more than thirty million acres; and here he lovingly planned and built his home, Pennsbury, where he fondly hoped to end his days, lulled by the ebb and flow of the tides and the softly flowing current of his beloved Delaware. It was to promote the welfare of the struggling colony that he went back across the water, though his firm expectation of return was never realized.

I conclude in all earnestness: truly, our Hall needs the fame of William Penn more than William Penn needs its reluctant hospitality. It will never be complete or wholly satisfying to the nation until he is placed among America's immortals.

> Ah! who can tell how hard it is to climb
> The steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar?

NOTES ON BOOKS AND ARTICLES

By Henry J. Cadbury

The frequent articles on Whittier in contemporary American periodicals it would be impractical for the Bulletin to list regularly. It is also unnecessary to do so since they are included in the very full bibliography which appears quarterly in *American Literature*. Reference is made here to some of the more interesting.

T. Franklin Currier, of the Harvard University Library, has been working for years on a Whittier bibliography which it is to be hoped will soon be completed. Meanwhile we may record a few small published by-products of his labor: *Whittier and the "New England Weekly Review"* in *The New England Quarterly,* vi, 1933, pp. 589-597; *Whittier and "Mary," ibid.,* p. 801 f.; *The Whittier Leaflet "Pericles,"* in *The Library Quarterly,* iv, 1934, pp. 175-178.

In the *New England Quarterly,* viii (1935), 105ff., T. Franklin Currier brings to light Whittier's intervention in a local strike situation as revealed in a little known pamphlet of 1852 entitled *A Succinct Account of the Late Difficulties in the Salisbury Corporation.* A new director of the Salisbury mill had arbitrarily lengthened the working hours of the hands from ten to ten and a half hours a day. At a mass meeting and a town meeting which followed Whittier was active among the citizens expressing sympathy with the strikers and was probably in part the author of the protests then adopted and printed in the pamphlet. A letter written to "sympathetic strikers" discloses his view. He writes (in part): "In my efforts against the great social and political wrong of the country, I have not overlooked more immediate evils. I have long been convinced that the term of daily labor in manufacturing companies should be abridged. I would prefer that it should be done by the voluntary action of owners and directors, but as this is scarcely to be hoped for, the legislature must provide a remedy."

In *American Literature,* vol. 5 (November 1933): 247-257, Arthur Christy follows up his earlier study, *loc. cit.* vol. 1 (January 1930): 372-392, on "Orientalism in New England: Whittier" by a further article on "The Orientalism of Whittier." Though Whittier's use of the Indic literature was not so philosophical as Emerson's, a surprising number of passages in his poems depend on his reading of translations. Mr. Christy picks out especially "Miriam," "The Preacher," and "The Over-Heart."

Since the last two show dependence on the Bhagavad Gita there is much interest in a discovery made since Mr. Christy wrote. After the contents of Emerson's old study had been bodily transferred to the new fireproof building at Concord a workman found by accident a secret drawer in the old manse. Among the papers it contained was a letter from Whittier to Emerson which apparently tells the beginning of Whittier's acquaintance with the Gita. The letter is dated 12 mo. 12,

1852. After extending an invitation to Emerson to lecture at Amesbury at the Lyceum the poet continues: "I feel guilty in respect to the Bhagavad Gita, but it is too late to repent: & I will even keep it until I restore it to thee personally in exchange for Geo. Fox. It is a wonderful book and has greatly excited my curiosity to know more of the religious literature of the East."

Evidently Emerson had lent Whittier a translation of the Gita, and reciprocally had borrowed the Journal (?) of George Fox. It was a fruitful and significant exchange. If the date of the letter has been rightly deciphered the edition through which Whittier first knew the Gita cannot be, as Christy supposes (p. 252), the translation of J. Cockburn Thomson (Hertford, 1855). A version of Sir Charles Wilkins was available in the original edition of 1785 or later reprints.

A very pleasing and intimate account of an interview with Whittier at the age of fifty-two, with an appreciation of his service as a hymn writer in spreading a more humane theology, is contributed by Professor John W. Buckham to the *Congregational Quarterly* (London) for January, 1935 (vol. xiii: 23-26) in an article entitled "Whittier Face to Face."

An article on "Francis Daniel Pastorius" by our fellow member Charles F. Jenkins was published in the December 1934 issue of the new quarterly *The American-German Review* (vol. 1 no. 2: 22ff.).

School and Society for July 14, 1934 (vol. 40: 55f.) contains a notice of the Quaker International School for Refugees in Holland.

In the *William and Mary Quarterly* for April 1934 (second series vol. xiv, no. 2), John Bennett Bodie discussing "Boddie of Essex, England and Virginia" deals with William Boddie, who was one of the Quakers in the Isle of Wight County, Virginia, from 1672 on for a number of years.

Beginning with page 1 of the current volume (xxvi, 1935), the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is publishing from a photostatic copy "Diary of William Dillwyn during a Visit to Charles Town." The original is owned by Robert Livingston Cahill of New York City. It is edited by A. S. Salley.

One of the most intimate of American Quaker diaries was that of John Hunt of Evesham, near Moorestown, N. J. Extracts from it appeared in Comly's *Miscellany,* vol. x, but now fuller extracts from the years 1770 to 1800 are being issued quarterly in the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* beginning vol. 52 (July, 1934): 177. The owner of the MS is T. Mallack Stackhouse of Moorestown, N. J. The selections are being made and edited by Edward Fuhlbruegge, of East Orange, Professor of History, Dana College, Newark.

"The Society of Friends in Maryland," by Delmar Leon Thornbury (*Maryland Historical Magazine,* xxix (1934): 101-115) shows little knowledge of Quakerism in general but deals in detail with the early local meetings in Maryland and in particular with the meeting houses in

the Baltimore area. A log meeting built in 1713 at Patapsco was the first place of worship in the present city limits.

Notice, though somewhat belated, may still be taken for the sake of completeness of an article published in January, 1928, in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* (vol. 37: 35-85) on "The Quakers, their Migration to the Upper Ohio, their Customs and Discipline." The author was H. E. Smith, of Marietta, Ohio. The article is very fully illustrated with cuts of persons, meeting houses, etc.

There is a very full account and bibliography of the life and work of a little known Quaker in the new quarterly *Pennsylvania History,* vol. 2 (1935) : 86-98. This is "William Thornton, Architect" by William Sener Rush. Thornton was born in Tortola or an adjacent island in 1759; he became a physician, poet, and painter. But he is most deserving of fame as architect of the Capitol at Washington, and of other buildings. He died in 1828. Pending the publication of a forthcoming volume of the *Dictionary of American Biography* this sketch is probably the best in print on this subject.

An unusual but effective use of the Quaker journal was made by Professor Cecil K. Drinker, of the Harvard School of Public Health, in a series of public lectures under the Lowell Institute, given in Boston in Tenth and Eleventh months, 1934. The general subject was "Health, Medicine and Doctors in Colonial Days, as Depicted in the Diary of Elizabeth Drinker (1758-1807)." It is understood that the lectures will shortly be printed. It is to be hoped that the whole journal, heretofore published only in part, will also be completely published.

Samuell Gorton, for so he spelled his Christian name, was no Quaker, but his career (c. 1592-1677) is of importance for a study of early Quaker background in New England. A fresh account of him by Kenneth W. Porter appears in the *New England Quarterly* for September, 1934 (Vol. vii, p. 405 ff.).

BOOK REVIEW

The Concordat of 1801. By Henry H. Walsh. Columbia University Press, 1933. 259 pp. $3.50.

One of the most intriguing of unsolved political problems is the relation of church and state, and in particular the relation of the state to that embodiment of a supposedly universal ethic, the Roman Catholic Church. This problem has had many forms, but has probably reached its acutest form with the development of the modern nationalist state. After being an almost academic question for some time, it has again intruded itself into practical politics with the development of various forms of dictatorship in Europe and the overthrow of a dictatorship in Mexico.

Very timely, therefore, is Dr. Walsh's discussion of the attempt to solve the problem by the Concordat of 1801.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century Napoleon, then First Consul, felt that he needed a well organized religion as a support to his government. The Constitutional Church established during the Revolution in France had "good maxims" but "few of the faithful." Hence he turned to the Catholic Church, though its many members were badly split into factions.

The Pope, having just returned to Rome after a period of exile, was only too willing to listen to a possible protector. To find such in the land of Rousseau was almost too good to be true, but worth investigating. Thus the time was ripe for a rapprochement, and neither side was too strongly intrenched to ignore the other.

All was not smooth sailing, however. Though Napoleon had no intention of allowing the priests to become stronger than the government, most of his supporters were more or less openly opposed to any recognition of the Roman Church. On the other hand, the French requirements were extremely distasteful to the Church, in particular the demand that all the bishops of the old régime resign and that the Church abandon all claim to Church property confiscated during and since the French Revolution.

At last, after about a year of negotiating, the Concordat was signed on July 5, 1801. This Concordat, *inter alia,* recognized that the Roman Catholic religion was the religion of most of the French people; reduced the number of dioceses from 135 to 60; and provided for the resignation of existing bishops and the appointment of new ones by the First Consul, though induction to office was reserved to the Pope. The Church was allowed freedom of public worship, "but in conformity with such police regulations as the government might judge necessary to the maintenance of public peace." Salaries for the clergy were to be provided by the state.

The Concordat however did not solve the problem: it did not end the struggle between church and state. The state got in the first blow by the Organic Articles, the police regulations that had been provided for. These so circumscribed and limited the Church as to be viewed by the Pope with dismay. The Pope however was constrained to consent or otherwise declare the Concordat void, and thereby in all probability permanently lose France for the Roman See.

The Church however retaliated by refusing to induct some of the bishops appointed by the First Consul. And so the struggle continued with greater or less severity until the Concordat was voided by the Law of Separation in 1905.

The bulk of Dr. Walsh's book is a very interesting discussion of the various currents of opinion in France as exemplified by their outstanding exponents: Chateaubriand, whose *Génie du Christianisme,* intended to restore the Catholic faith to favor, was a very potent influence in the

development of its chief rival, patriotism; Portalis, who as minister of ecclesiastical affairs had to persuade the suspicious French assembly that the Concordat would not allow the Church to dispute the sovereignty of the government; Maury, leader of the nonjuring clergy, who became a supporter of Napoleon because he saw in his coronation as emperor a return to a hereditary monarchy and the abandonment of democracy; Grégoire, Gallican and Jansenist, who as leader of the Constitutional Church opposed the official recognition of the Roman Church; Emery, leader of the moderate clergy, whose tolerant attitude and advice kept the Roman Catholic Church alive in France, who at first welcomed the Concordat of 1801 but fearlessly supported the Pope in his conflict with Napoleon on investiture and thereby did much to keep the Roman Church in France from becoming merely an adjunct of the government; d'Astros, in his youth a Gallican, who opposed Napoleon and supported the Pope in the investiture struggle; and de Maistre, Savoyard supporter of papal infallibility as a corrective to extreme nationalism.

This scholarly book is written in a readable style which sustains the interest, though its references to Gallicanism, ultramontanism, and other isms presupposes a knowledge of previous church history which the lay reader may not possess.

ERNEST N. VOTAW

The map of Philadelphia as William Penn knew it, facing page 44, was drawn by William Wilson Pollock on the basis of historical data supplied by Albert Cook Myers. The prints of this map were presented to the BULLETIN by the Program Committee of the general committee appointed to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the first arrival of Penn in America, in 1682. A full account of the commemorative exercises was given in the BULLETIN, vol. 21 (1932): 49-105, accompanied by a similar map of Chester as Penn knew it. The present map forms a fitting companion piece to the one formerly published. Readers of the article on Enoch Flower, published in the last issue of the BULLETIN, will find his lot noted south of Walnut, between Front and Second Streets, spanning Dock Street.

NOTICE

A member of the Friends' Historical Society wishes to find the present owners of the following marriage certificates:

Richard Wistar mar. Sarah Wyatt, 1751.
Charles Marshall mar. Sarah Thompson, 1735.
John Bowne mar. Dinah Underhill, 1738.
Samuel Bowne mar. Mary Beckett, 1691.

Will any reader of the BULLETIN who has this information kindly communicate with

H, c/o BULLETIN OF FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY